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**ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY - OPEN SOURCES ON AFRICA**

May 1984

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## PREFACE

This bibliography is culled from a variety of unclassified periodicals, scholarly journals, and books received during the previous month. Some sources, dependent on surface mails and convoluted routing, are dated slightly. Their entry herein is contingent solely on date of receipt. The array of political, military, strategic, and other materials cited is derived from general, regional, and some national publications published yearly, quarterly, monthly, weekly, or erratically. Hence, sources differ from month to month. The intent of the bibliographers is to provide a good sampling of regional-related sources to aid the researcher in maintaining awareness of developments. No presumption of comprehensiveness is made.

Analysts contributing to this bibliography are Eunice Charles, Nancy Drexler, Mary Louise Harmon, Linda Lau, Moses Pinkston, and Rachel Warner. Word processing support was provided by Karen Flanders.

**ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY - OPEN SOURCES ON AFRICA**  
(Received in April 1984)

**AFRICA GENERAL**

Gavron, Arthur. Crisis in Africa: Battleground of East and West. Boulder, Colorado, Westview Press, 1984, 320 pp.

First published in 1981, this book offers a survey of East-West rivalries in Africa which is more descriptive than analytical. An overview of contemporary Africa is followed by chapters on Soviet, Cuban, Chinese, American, French, and British activities in Africa since 1960. In two 30-page case studies, on Angola and the Horn of Africa, the author analyzes the roles of the two superpowers, concluding that Western misjudgements often provided the Soviets with opportunities to establish themselves in the two regions.

Henriksen, Thomas H. "The USSR and Africa: Challenge and Prospects." Current News, 28 March 1984, pp. 261-72.

Soviet intervention in Africa's revolutionary circles with massive arms transfers since the mid-1970s invalidated earlier perceptions of Soviet aims since the Second World War as being motivated by increased world status, secure trade relations, and the desire for ports of call. The author traces the evolution of Soviet involvement in Africa from its massive intervention in the Angolan civil war in 1975 to present-day influence in Afro-Communist states. He concludes that although Soviet intermediate concerns lie beyond Africa due to commitments elsewhere and recent setbacks, Africa still remains a high Soviet priority.

Levenfield, David. "Israel and Black Africa." Midstream, February 1984, pp. 7-11.

Briefly traces Israel's relations with sub-Saharan Africa. Much of the article discusses Zaire's establishing relations with Israel. The author believes that among the motives for doing so were US criticism of the Mobutu regime and Mobutu's desire to upgrade the effectiveness of his presidential guard with assistance from Israel. While Mobutu's decision to recognize Israel came before the 1982 invasion of Lebanon, Liberia's establishing relations with Israel came a year later and must be considered a separate act, unconnected with Zaire. Levenfield predicts that if further recognition of Israel occurs in sub-Saharan Africa, it will be piecemeal, the most likely candidates being Ivory Coast, Togo, and the Central Africa Republic.

Sada, Hugo. "Quelle Politique Africaine (What Kind of African Policy)?" Jeune Afrique, 22 February 1984, pp. 29-34.

Soviet influence in Africa is declining because of a transfer of Soviet interests from the Indian Ocean arena toward the Pacific, priority accorded to the Middle East and to nuclear weapons in Europe, and the

Reagan administration's aggressive policies. This article examines the Soviet position in Ethiopia, Mozambique, and Angola.

#### ANGOLA

Cardosa, Carlos. "Offensive and Counter-offensive." West Africa, 13 February 1984, pp. 321-23.

The South African invasion of southern Angola in December had both regional and local aims. Cardosa, of the Mozambique News Agency, spent 3 weeks in Angola in December and in this article details the events which led to the SADF's "Operation Askari."

"Countering Invasion and Insurgency in Angola." Africa Now, March 1984, pp. 22-23.

Discusses recent military activities in Angola by South African and UNITA forces against FAPLA, the Angolan army. States that UNITA is a formidable force with very strong local backing and that the Angolan Government will be unable to defeat it, although the Soviet Union had threatened to intervene in the fighting against the South African-backed insurgents.

M., J. "Invasion of Angola." Sechaba, January 1984, pp. 30-32.

This is a review article which discusses the White Paper on Acts of Aggression by the Racist South African Regime against the People's Republic of Angola, published by the Angolan Government in 1983. States that the White Paper gives an account of South African aggression against Angola in a direct and factual manner, beginning in 1975, when South African forces invaded the Marxist state before the declaration of independence.

#### CAMEROON

Bessis, Sophie. "Le Proces en Questions (The Trial in Questions)." Jeune Afrique, 14 March 1984, pp. 52-56.

The 28 February verdict which condemned former President Ahidjo and two military officers to death for plotting to assassinate President Paul Biya is described as a political one. It is especially disquieting that the only evidence of the plot is the testimony of the two self-confessed accomplices who may have been tortured while in jail. Far from ending the "Ahidjo affair," the tribunal's decision can only provoke divisiveness in Cameroon. It remains to be seen if Biya can redress this political error by pardoning his predecessor.

## CONGO

Islam, Shada. "Life After Oil." West Africa, 19 March 1984, pp. 596-97.

The decline of oil prices has forced Congolese leaders to plan for the country's post oil era with priority given to development of the timber industry, agriculture, and road development to increase accessibility of the northern areas, thereby reducing overcrowding in the Congo's two major cities.

## GHANA

"Ghana--The Revolution Under Siege." The African Communist, no. 94, third quarter 1983, pp. 75-78.

A synopsis of events in Ghana since the return to power of Jerry Rawlings. Discusses the nationwide creation of People's Defence Committees and Workers' Defence Committees whose "aim is the greater participation of the people in a democratic process."

Zeff, Eleanor. An Analysis of Differences and Similarities Between Military and Civilian Regimes in Ghana. New School for Social Research, 1983, 259 pp., reviewed in Dissertation Abstracts International, February 1984, vol. 44, no. 8, p. 2575-A.

This thesis is an in-depth study of differences between civilian and military regimes in Ghana which experienced two military and civilian governments between 1957 and 1975. The study was conducted by a two-stage analysis of the ideas and goals expressed by each government and then compared with actual events to show the validity of analyzing the ideas to determine differences.

## NIGERIA

"Nigeria: Deadly Serious." Africa Confidential, 14 March 1984, pp. 1-5.

An analysis of the Buhari military administration and the necessity of proving itself in the near future, before a more radical coup is staged. The time factor is an issue because of the public's desire for a great deal of change, the squeezed economy, the view of the new administration as a derivative of the ousted National Party of Nigeria, and the fact that the 31 December coup was timed to preempt a well coordinated coup plan by middle-rank army officers. Prices and availability of essential commodities will be the most important barometers of success or failure of the new regime.

Ugochukwu, Onyema. "The Return of the Military." West Africa, 9 January 1984, pp. 35-37.

An overview of the events leading up to the 31 December coup, the new structures of government and an analysis of the reasons for the success of the coup.

## SOUTH AFRICA

"Armcor: South Africa's Armaments Industry." African Defence, November 1983, pp. 48-51.

Article discusses the establishment and production capacity of Armcor, South Africa's parastatal arms manufacturer. Contains pictures of recent products such as tanks, troop carriers, missiles, and cannons.

Campbell, Keith. "Prospects for Terrorism in South Africa." South Africa International, October 1983, pp. 397-417.

The author discusses the theoretical concepts of "terrorist" and "terrorism" then points out the differences between guerrilla war and terrorist war. Examines the structure of terrorist organizations and then compares groups in Southern Africa such as the ANC with other terrorist groups from different parts of the world. He discusses the international, regional, and domestic environments of terrorist operations and concludes that prospects for the ANC in South Africa are bleak due to the effective security apparatus of the regional superpower.

Deacon, John. "School for Soldiers." South African Panorama, February 1984, pp. 40-43.

Discusses the training and use of the 21 Battalion, known as the "Buffalo Battalion." This group is comprised of Black Africans of South Africa, half of whom are residents of Soweto.

Doyle, Mark. "Arms for Pretoria." West Africa, 13 February 1984, p. 322.

Discusses a recent report released by the American Friends Service Committee entitled Military Exports to South Africa. States that the embargo on the supply of arms to South Africa is being "severely eroded" and discusses the countries and factors implicated in the South African arms build-up.

Walker, Cherryl. Women and Resistance in South Africa. London: Onyx Press, 1982, 309 pp. Reviewed in The African Communist, no. 94, third quarter 1983, pp. 101-3.

This book is about women's organizations and the organization of women in South Africa. Gives an historical account of the formation of the Federation of South African Women (FSAW) and past and recent activities of women in support of or as members of the African National Congress.

## SUDAN

Osman, Fathi. "Sudan: Why Islamisation is not a Top People's Game." Arabia, January 1984, pp. 18-21.

Argues that, from an Islamic point of view, the imposition of Sharia law in the Sudan has not been according to Islamic principles. Numayri has

ignored the concepts of social justice and the rights of the opposition to express its views. States that there has been no move in the Sudan from authoritarianism to the rule of unbiased law. Numayri's rule now is the same as when he was a leftist suppressing the Islamic movement.

#### SWAZILAND

"The Post-Sobhuza Power Struggle." Africa Report, January-February 1984, pp. 51-54.

Article describes the struggle for power among the traditional and modern elements of the leadership circles in Swaziland after the death of King Sobhuza II. The author states that three phases of conflict have occurred. The first was initiated by the then Prime Minister, Prince Mabandla; the second was between Queen Regent Dzeliwe and the Ligoqo, and the third and present phase has been a showdown between Dzeliwe's supporters and her opponents.

#### TANZANIA

Adam, Mohamed Mlamali; Ahmed Rajab; and al-Amoody, Omar. "End of an Affair." Africa Now, February 1984, pp. 11-13.

The authors give a cogent exposition of political feuding and maneuvering in Zanzibar which ultimately led to the ouster of Tanzanian Vice President and Zanzibari President Aboud Jumbe. They explain that Jumbe came up with the idea of rotating troops between the mainland and Zanzibar in order to neutralize his powerful foe Bakari who had considerable support in the Zanzibar army. Jumbe's opponents, however, shrewdly publicized the presence of mainland troops as evidence that he was more unionist than Zanzibari. Thus, Jumbe was indirectly compelled to fight for the entrenched interests of these influential Zanzibaris who feared proposals by the CCM (Tanzania's sole party) for greater democracy on the islands and direct elections for the National Assembly. In turn, the CCM then faulted Jumbe for failing to defend the integrity and supremacy of the party and for not taking firm action against those wanting to break up the union.

#### UGANDA

Gupta, Vijay. Obote: Second Liberation. New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House, 1983, 196 pp. Reviewed in Africa Economic Digest, 20 January 1984, p. 23.

This scholarly biography of Uganda's President Obote focuses on the period after Idi Amin's fall from power. The author uses citations--mainly Obote's speeches--to explain the president's foreign policies and plans for development and social change. The book has only praise for Obote.



"National Security, Human Rights, and Population Displacements Luwero District, Uganda, January-December 1983." Review of African Political Economy, no. 27/28, February 1984, pp. 164-74.

Provides a useful summary of 1983 events pertaining to national security in Uganda. The problems of population displacement in Luwero as a consequence of army operations are mentioned as are a few of the atrocities committed by soldiers. The article gives a rather benign picture of events in Luwero. It does not mention many of the worst aspects of the situation there which have been described in recent press articles. The author reassuringly asserts that efforts by Ugandan and international organizations and foreign governments have mitigated the worst effects of the displacements.

"Ugandan Kidnap Gang Threatens Nairobi Refugees." Africa Now, March 1984, pp. 12-17.

Ugandan government opponents with UN refugee status living in Nairobi are being kidnaped by Ugandan intelligence agents. Some Kenyan Special Branch officers are cooperating. The article names Ugandans involved in organizing and carrying out the kidnappings and reveals some of the sources of funds and methods used by the kidnap squads.

#### UPPER VOLTA

de Lestapis, J. "Upper Volta: New Role for the People's Army." African Defense, December 1983, pp. 44-55.

This article first describes the army's new role as projected in Head of State Sankara's "Orientation Message" of 2 October 1983, then interviews Major Jean-Baptiste Lingani, Minister of Defense and War Veterans, for his interpretation of the Message. Major changes called for are improved discipline and morale through better training and equipment, armed forces' "participation in national production" especially in rural development, and politicization of the military through Revolutionary Defense Committees which, like their civilian counterparts, will create "militants of the revolution." The thrust of the "Orientation Message" is that instead of being neutral, the army should actively advance the goals of the National Revolutionary Council.

#### ZIMBABWE

Rich, Tony. "Zimbabwe--Only Teething Troubles." The World Today, December 1983, pp. 500-7.

The author attempts to discuss the social and economic evolution of affairs in Zimbabwe in relation to the military insurgency being carried out by members of the Sindebele-speaking community and former ZIPRA combatants. Also examines the Mugabe-initiated measures to counter dissident activity and the likely creation of a one-party state.